30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT FROM THE FIELD

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University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 129 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (for the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier C K 122 frustrations have gone. It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and rough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain; most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit cramped in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that

K 124 535

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C K 114

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K one informant told me that he had seen the ghost dance performed
124 several times by the Kiowas when he was about fifteen years old. As
535 he is only sixty-two or three now and the books say that the ghost dance stopped in 1891, I thought that this story was slightly exaggerated. I found an answer to it which also explained why the informants disclaimed any knowledge of cradle boards etc. pushing such things back into the old days. I felt that Devereaux's time warping was at work here. Well after checking a little I found that in spite of a government ban, the Kiowas danced the Ghost dance as a social dance
C at least up to the First World War. Moreover, in time, the informants
K did tell us more and more about the child rearing practices etc. that
129 they "did not remember." It took time, we found, because they were
124 reluctant to admit to whites that any so called "savage" practices
C had ever been known to them at all. Other stories which seemed equally
K fantastic have also turned out to be correct upon cross examination
124 and verification from outside sources.

C /31/With two families we have made most satisfactory and happy
K friendships. But close friendships have their drawbacks. There is
129 an ever increasing involvement in the domestic and political problems of the group and it is a most arduous task keeping oneself from entering into the tangle with gusto.

C The Kiowas seem to be far more amenable to acting as informants
K than do the Comanches. This is perhaps because the Comanches I know
129 have either served as informants before or have been close friends of
124 older men who have been informants in the past. The very man who has brought me into the group as his "friend" and has introduced me to peyote and with whom we have the closest of relationships is the most reluctant to become known as an informant and to work in a formal manner as such.

C My job as curator has become a double edged blade. As time
K has passed it turns out that the people in the historical society and
123 Lawton in general are disliked heartily. They are willing to help me

/page 31 continued/

C K 129 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 129 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact

C K 124 129 with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that

K 361 592 the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

/page 31 continued/

K 361 542 C 361 course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison. This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from the Wermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko. According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more difficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal. K [361] Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north. Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in respect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not appear to be having significant results other factors (see first report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects C K 484 601 602 [493] [491] that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.

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Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

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C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 179 602

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C younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising
K that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past
601 hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one
191 lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing
197 gradual change.
602

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the oppor-
K tunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed be-
602 havior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is
178 not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches.
K This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying de-
602 grees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the
606 old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as
509 the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they
178 did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine
C changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists
602 that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are
503 gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having
178 been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

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C 602 598 178 (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his children break these strictures.

C K 858 178 While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days. The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C K 602 178 C K 608 [588] C K [178] C K [428] The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C K 197 186 The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and traditionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

C K 177 186 /35/Historically there is some evidence that this dichotomy was an important one for the Kiowas and Comanches during the period of the 1870's to say 1900. There were those who came into the reservations and those who held out till the end. Later there were the religious converts and those who clung to the old ways of faith. Ever present in the Indian's judgement of his fellows was the gauge of just how white he had become; whose side he was on so to speak. The other side of the coin also held of course; how bull headed, primitive or whatever someone still was. To an extent this attitude pattern is in effect today but it is difficult to see how it determines the factions in the tribe or even adherence to a particular religion.

K 665 [795] To date I have learned more concerning factionalism among the Kiowas than among the Comanches and shall, therefore, deal with them first. People are vocal concerning religious tensions and prejudices (Christian vs. Peyote) and splits within the council concerning allegiances, i.e. Republican vs. Democrat, nor do they seem to pertain to major policy and direction. Tension seems to be centered over the K [795] methods of operation used by those in office. It should be remembered that relatively few are active in tribal politics and that both Christians and Peyotists are minorities. The large bulk of the K 795 population are inactive and do not even follow. They may be listed 771 as Christians as often as not but neither go to church nor know much more than the average bourgeois of the East what Christianity is all K [124] about. Past field work has used as informants members of active [114] leading groups and this study makes no pretense of being different. The life of the "common man" remains virtually untouched in this area as far as I can tell.

K 665 At present there is considerable agitation among the Kiowas between an out group and the in group which controls the business council. Leaving aside the sordid details etc., the line up suggests that there is a split here between a traditional aristocracy and an upstart, "shanty Irish," group. The opposition party consists of

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K 665 most of the well known families of the tribe, descendents of chiefs, prominant preachers, and some families made prominant by the army in the past hundred years. The opposition includes Peyotists as Christians. The slogans used by them are anti-graft and hucksterism for the most part. The party in power has, to my knowledge, made no defense campaign except that of a name calling variety in a disorganizing way. They have tried to convince Peyotists that the opposition group is anti-Peyote but this has had no effect as some prominant peyotists are in the opposition. Leaving the whys of factionalism K [55] aside, the present conflict can be seen as a further breakdown of traditional status and power held by a certain few families. In the furor many accusations are flung about which would seem to reflect the above mentioned split between acculturationist and traditionalist but which in reality are tags to cover up the real intent of both sides.

My own opinion, colored perhaps by the partisanship of my informants, my own background etc., is that at the moment the opposition aristocracy does have the more able leadership. Of course this is never a permanent situation.

C 665 The picture presented by the Comanches is not only different but /36/ also more difficult to grasp. The Comanches have also objected to the present business council and have withdrawn from the C 554 federated tribal council entirely. But the Comanches do not have a traditional group of good families which have provided leadership in the past. The present leaders of the move to separate are mainly young men of "no family" with a sprinkling of respected older leaders. But even the older leaders of the Comanches cannot be traced back to prominent families. In general, the prestige due to descent is not active among the Comanches. In fact, with the exception of the Parker family (lionized by the Whites) it is difficult to find out who the descendants of the chiefs are.

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C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 809 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

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C K 829 665 According to the other view such earlier factioning is recognized but felt to be unimportant. It is maintained that the unity of the tribes was not impaired until during the past four or five years. The older men were sensible and had great integrity. But the age group most active today are the product of a period in which people learned to lean on the government. These men, so the argument runs, are weaklings because they have been able or even allowed, to solve something for themselves. In other words it is a "lost generation" theory of sorts. The remedy for this state of affairs would be for a withdrawal of the Indian Service from virtually all areas of Indian life. /37/It is felt that a sink and swim period would be painful but would ultimately make the Indian self sufficient.

One is led to consider a view which explains present phenomena in the light of earlier cultural conditioning as well as one which attempts to explain in terms of exterior factors acting upon the community in the recent past. The ruminations of the informants on their own problems are not far from the thought processes of the anthropologist analyzing them. Both lines of thought seem rational and realistic if a trifle too pat. But a merging of the two might also be an easy out. Perhaps unfortunately, my own inclination, is to fashion an answer which would satisfy both sides of the argument to a greater or lesser extent.

C K 665 745 It has been mentioned above that the composition of the factions does not correspond with religious cleavages. On the other hand the present picture does not indicate that the Peyotists who are active in politics play a role equal to that of the non-Peyotists. Although there are indications that prominent Peyotists have been active and vocal political leaders in the past this does not appear to be the case at the present. Whether the present picture is a significant one is too early to say.

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C K 665 R95 Of the four factions, two Kiowa and two Comanche, only one does not have a Peyotist in a leading position (opposition Kiowas). The Comanche separatists have a Peyote man but it is now almost an exaggeration to say that he is a leader although he has been in the past. Both the anti-separationists and the present Kiowa faction controlling the business council have one Peyotist each in a leadership position. In one case the Peyotist does not speak much, prefers not to take strong positions and lets his son, who has no clear religious affiliations, do most of the talking. The anti-separationist Peyotist is an elderly man who tries to play both sides. He is sympathetic to the separationists as well as to his own party and maintains that he is on the side he is on because of claims made by friendship ties. In any event the actions of the active as well as politically inactive (but prominent) Peyotists seems to be one of avoiding any political action which will place them irrevocably in a certain direction.

While there is no ready explanation for this, especially because we do not know whether Peyotists have always acted this way in politics, a look at one Peyote group and the affiliations of its members will serve to show why the individuals may be afraid of strong political commitments.

C 665 R95 The Peyotist attempts to be a peaceful man and if dissension occurs within his local group of co-religionists he is made quite uncomfortable. John Pahdoponi withdrew from political life because he did not want to struggle with the new group coming into power (the present business council). Because of his dislike of the present council he favors separation as a means of side stepping the issue. Some of his former close associates are also active separationists. On the other hand one of his "brothers" in the Peyote community is a leader in the anti-separationist group. To add to this quandry,

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C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
572 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
602 may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
609 for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
799 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has C K 798 been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 795 798 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 795 197 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

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C K 795 777 [787] consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed. The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descriptions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

C K 787 777 [786] Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were

C K 823 778 [787] the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy

C K 823 778 777 [775] and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the

C K 787 fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K 276 795 778 [787] Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could

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C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[788] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
[789] depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
C broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
K has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
778 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
276 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
197 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
791 instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
777 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
771 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

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Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

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795 771 177 give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long. The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in the local groups, the other is the more White or outward oriented attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

795 771 177 /41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in a very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could ever be.

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Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christianity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin. That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage. The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the presarvation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

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The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every-
795 day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers
177 to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give
N86 up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem
/42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress,
etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion
of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver
of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it
protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to
a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never
translated into political action. The interrribal relations remain
795 on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization
177 present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to
the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members
of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal
footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken
more at face value. The statements of the representative of the
Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to
appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics.
The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent."
They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis,
etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote
religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more
than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an
acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard
to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant
would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individ-
ual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger
than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so
far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will
tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new
factors enter the scene.

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C K 795 177 At this point some comparisons with the Christian communities may be made. On the surface the Christians represent a move toward the White world while the Peyotists represent the last stronghold of conservatism. While it is true that some Christian families have consciously tried to assimilate and have used their Christianity as one of the avenues of effort the majority of the Christians in the rural areas do not consider their Christianity in the same light. They do look upon Peyote as backward, some families have been able to accept the Christian view concerning sin, etc. In general, however, Christianity is just another church. There is no lack of indentification with Indian culture although there is not the same conscious effort to preserve tradition except among the Kiowas who have been reviving societies in a modified form. One of the big gripes the Peyotists have against the Christian Indians is that they do not live up to Christianity. That is, they claim to have accepted the "difficult" demands of the church but then act just like the Peyotists they look down on. This is, in a way, an admission that the Christians are still Indians in essence. It is this which leads one to look beneath the surface dichotomy between the two religions which is most often vocalized as the difference between assimilationists and conservatives.

C K 829 177 If anything impresses me in regard to the attitudes of the Indians I have met, it is the sustained reaction to the traumatic defeat at the hands of the Whites. The Indian is in a subordinate position. He is not allowed to forget it, nor does he wish to when he has a chance. The Indians believe themselves to be in a weaker position than are the Negroes. And this, in Oklahoma, is not an C objective /43/ assessment of the facts. In this situation where K aggression is allowed no direct outlet both Christianity and Peyote 795 play a similar role. And if the White-Indian tensions are central to 177 the individual's life in any way (I believe they may be the prime factor in many areas) then this similarity of roles may be more important than the differences between the two faiths.

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C K 829 777 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K 795 771 Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

[829] [129] 793 795 539 829

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C K 795 771 [177] [123] In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped to operate due to my own color.

C K 121 665 177 Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus traditionalist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once important it might be profitable to do some historical work concerning the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty years.

C K 121 /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

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